

LINCOLN
LOVER OF
MANKIND
ELIOT NORTON



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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

A Lover of Mankind



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AN ESSAY

BY

ELIOT NORTON

FRONTISPIECE

Equality, Fraternity and Liberty

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MOST men have narrow likings. They like particular things, certain animals, some men. There are others, however, who have broad, catholic and comprehensive likings. These men like whole classes of things or special kinds of animals. Thus some like pictures, others books, others dogs, and others horses, and so on. Exactly in the same way some men like mankind generally, and accordingly in their relations with men regularly show "liking," being at once pleasant, kindly, friendly, genial and social and not cold nor sarcastic nor superior. Among the men who are living about us those that have most of this disposition are the "good fellows," who are found in every club. They like other men and are genial, friendly and social. Usually,

however, their liking, although far more broad than that of other men, is still confined to men who belong to about their station in life and have about the same habits. For even they talk of their "inferiors," and are often far from kindly to servants. A liking for men which is comprehensive enough to take in men of all kinds and stations, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, masters and servants, is a very rare disposition.

So rare is it that most men in their journeying through the world never meet with a single instance of it, no matter how long their lives are or how many men they meet. So rare is it that among men living in the public eye to-day there is not one who has this disposition.

To bring therefore such a man to view, we must look back over the recorded dead,—a long list,—and yet singularly empty of such men. It is hard to find them. Still among the English dead two can be found who indubitably had a liking for men of the very broadest sort.

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One was Chaucer and the other Sir Walter Scott.

That Chaucer had this disposition all people who have ever noted the best evidence of it,—the expression of his spirit in his works,—agree in saying.

James Russell Lowell wrote: ¹ “ Chaucer was a good man, genial, sincere, hearty, temperate of mind, more wise, perhaps, for this world than the next, but thoroughly humane, and friendly with God and men. . . . We are sure that here was a true brother-man, so kindly that in his ‘ House of Fame,’ after naming the great poets, he throws in a pleasant word for the oaten pipes

*‘ Of the little herd-grooms
That keepen beasts among the brooms.’ ”*

There are many proofs of the truth of every word of this characterization. The mere scheme of the Canterbury Tales shows it; to wit: the companionship of a number of people, only casually united, who willingly and socially contrib-

ute to the pleasure and entertainment of all by telling stories. What is this but genial fellow feeling? Moreover, story-telling is one of the oldest and most delightful expressions of good fellowship. Where good fellows have congregated, whether in the earliest days in the Cave or later in the Market Place or in modern times at the Club, they have told good stories. Nobody but a good fellow, a true brother-man, as Mr. Lowell so happily puts it, would have known this, would have found it so vital to his being, so inseparable from his thought, as to make it the medium in which he expressed himself. *Le style c'est l'homme.*

And to see how broad and catholic was Chaucer's liking for his fellow men one has only to turn to the Prologue. Here are described twenty-seven people: a Knight, a young squire, a yeoman, a prioress, a monk, a friar, a merchant, a clerk of Oxenford, a sergeant of law, a franklin, a haberdasher, a carpenter, a weaver, a dyer, a tapicer, a cook, a

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shipman, a doctor of physic, a wife of Bathe, a poor Parson of a Town, a ploughman, a miller, a maunciple, a reeve, a sompnour, a pardoner, and an inn-keeper,—all sorts and conditions of men,—yet Chaucer shows a liking for them all. Not only does he like his Knight, who “loved chivalry, truth and honor, freedom and courtesy;” and the poor Parson, who was “a good man;” and the ploughman, who “loved God best and then his neighbor right as himself;” but he also likes the shipman, although “of nice conscience took he no keep;” and the sompnour who could pluck an innocent; and the miller and pardoner and friar and wife of Bathe, although no more than the shipman and the sompnour did they of nice conscience take heed; and so on with the rest of his twenty-seven,—to no one of whom is Chaucer ungenial or unfriendly.

This spirit of broad humanity, of liking all men of all sorts and conditions, of friendliness, of sociability, of genial en-

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joyment in the companionship of one's fellow mortals also shows itself in the special importance Chaucer attributed to it by giving at least a modicum of it to almost every one of his many characters. The inn-keeper was "right a merry man;" the pardoner could sing "ful merrily and loud;" "a better fellow than the sompnour men should not find;" the miller was a jolly joker and teller of stories; the Knight's son was a gay and cheerful youth, "singing or fluting all the day;" the shipman was "certainly a good fellow;" the clerk of Oxenford had a pleasant companionable nature "for gladly would he learn and gladly teach;" the wife of Bathe "in fellowship well could laugh and talk" and the prioress had the very quintessence of good fellowship, for

*"Sikerly she was of great disport,
And ful pleasant, and amyable of port
And peynede her to counterfete cheere
Of Court, and be estatlich of manere,
And to be holden digne of reverence."*

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Another man of this same disposition, another true brother-man, was Sir Walter Scott. Though some men are unto honor made and some unto dishonor, yet all are made by the same maker of the same clay; and this clay, whether in the shape of king or clown, master or man, Scott liked. His biographer says:² "I believe Scott has somewhere expressed in print his satisfaction that among all the changes of our manners, the ancient freedom of personal intercourse may still be indulged in between a master and an *out-of-doors* servant; but in truth he kept by the old fashion, even with domestic servants, to an extent which I have hardly seen practiced by any other gentleman. He conversed with his coachman, if he sat by him, as he often did, on the box; with his footman, if he chanced to be in the rumble. . . . Indeed, he did not confine this humanity to his own people; any steady servant of a friend of his was soon considered a sort of friend too, and was sure to have a

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kind little colloquy to himself at coming and going." This is corroborated by the expressive phrase of one of these dependants:³ "Sir Walter speaks to every man as if they were blood relations." And is still further corroborated by the striking words of his friend, Miss Joanna Baillie, who said: "He made the auld fish-wife feel that she was as good company for the Shirra (that is, the Sheriff, Sir Walter) as the Shirra was for her."⁴ And his genial, kindly nature is also testified to by Tom Moore, no mean judge, who described⁵ him as "a thorough good fellow;" and by a man of a totally different disposition, Wordsworth, the poet, who said,⁶ "Wherever we named him, we found that the word acted as an open sesamum; and I believe that in the character of the Sheriff's friends, we might have counted on a hearty welcome under any roof in the border country." And Walter Bagehot, who of all English critics had the most knowledge of human nature, wrote of

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him that, "In his lifetime people denied he was a poet, but nobody said he was not 'the best fellow' in Scotland, . . . or that he had not more wise joviality, more living talk, more graphic humor, than any man in Great Britain." 7

If one considers the characteristics of this disposition it can readily be seen why it is so rare. It has to meet the partial hostility of both Nature and Society. For while both these favor the existence of social virtues, yet both are opposed to the catholicity of this disposition which not alone tolerates but likes the weak as well as the strong, the unfit as well as the fit, the sinner as well as the saint, the outcast as well as the elect.

Then too, almost every fault to which the human race is prone interferes with this disposition. Selfishness in its myriad forms, envy, hatred and all uncharitableness, malice, hardness of heart, cruelty and want of feeling all stand in its way and check it. If any of these faults are marked in a man, and they are com-

mon, such a disposition cannot also exist in him.

Furthermore, should a man combine great abilities with this disposition he will be one of a very few since the world began. For a sense of personal distinction or superiority does not fit with this broad liking, any more than with the Christian maxim—Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Great abilities are rare and great men human. Such men are actually so superior to the common herd that it would be unnatural if they did not recognize this daily and even hourly. From this simple recognition to only the most innocent and just sense of superiority is but a step. Yet that step puts a broad liking for men forever to the rear, so often to be left farther and farther behind as pride, vanity and arrogance, the ever ready companions of greatness, conduct to other steps away.

What is rarest, however, is for a man to possess this disposition and combine it not only with great abilities but also with

high public station. For the latter almost necessarily compels the acquirement of a manner which is distant, dignified and reserved, to serve, like the elaborately formal etiquette which surrounds royal personages, as a kind of protective armor from the many inconveniences of position. But, however necessary and useful, such a manner is fatal to the maintenance of genial and social relations, and so in the passage of time wears away any native disposition to like men and show them friendliness.

Besides, great public men are very busy, and much occupation with one's thoughts or with other men in large affairs does not permit of the drafts on one's time which are made by a strong liking for men. For if one has that, one will not mind any interruption, but will be glad to see and talk in a friendly and leisurely way with every caller, and will spend much time in social intercourse with men. This, it will be admitted, is not the way of great public personages.

Thus it is that among the recorded dead it is scarcely possible to find any men of great ability, who also led public lives, who had this disposition. One of the very few who had in full measure this genial, kindly fellow feeling was Saladin. It was his broad humanity and liking for men more than anything else that led to the admiration in which he was held by both friend and foe. Everybody found him as they did Sir Walter Scott "a thorough good fellow." His biographer says,⁸—"Far from adopting an imposing mien and punctilious forms, no sovereign was ever more genial and easy of approach. He loved to surround himself with clever talkers, and was himself 'delightful to talk to.' . . . His sympathy and unaffected interest set everyone at his ease." Saladin, says Abd-el-Latif,⁹ who knew him well, was "approachable, deeply intellectual, gracious and noble in his thoughts. All who came near him took him as their model. . . . The first night I was with him I found

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him surrounded by a large concourse of learned men, who were discussing various sciences. He listened with pleasure and took part in their conversations.” Besides enjoying association with men, he showed his liking for them in many ways, especially by the tender-heartedness, goodness and mercy for which he was famous. The Defender of the True Faith, the Commander of the Faithful in a Holy War, yet he was naturally averse to bloodshed and unwarlike by nature. To his inferiors in position he was very kind, simple, sympathetic and friendly. He could not bear to have his servants beaten in an age when the beating of servants was a matter of course. “Our Sultan,” says Baba-ed-din,⁹ “was very noble of heart, and kindness shone in his face.” His life was full of kindly acts to men, women and children.

Apart from those conditions pertaining to great ability and public station which are unfavorable to this disposition, it is also clear that it cannot be congenial

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to aristocrats, whether they be really so or whether they in conceit think they are so. Nor does it matter on what their aristocracy is founded, whether on birth, intelligence or power, or on wealth or position. Still less does it matter whether it is located in the Rue St. Honoré or in Mud Alley. For in every aristocracy, in every aristocrat, the essential idea is that of being better than one's neighbors. And this is enough to prevent a liking for many men,—one's neighbors being always numerous and not aristocratic.

So too among business men or those engaged in competitive pursuits the element of conflict which is involved in all business and competition stands in the way of liking the men you meet and treating them genially and socially. Indeed, the end of business and competition is to get, if not the best, at least the better of the other man. Thus in cities where "the eager rivalry of life, the cruel conflict for pre-eminence, the quick seizure and fast unrelaxing hold of van-

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tage place, the stony hard resolve, the chase, the competition, and the craft which seem to be the poison of our lives, and yet are the condition of our lives”¹⁰ are developed to their highest degree, this virtue of a general liking is not common. God, it is said, did not make the city.

On the other hand, it would seem, judging from probabilities alone, that the conditions under which this disposition would most readily flourish would be among simple people living simple country lives,—“under the shadow of the steeple,”—far from the madding crowd, free from distinctions of rank. And it would add to the probabilities if all this were located in a young democracy dedicated to the proposition that all men are born equal, and in which to a great extent all men were equal.

However this may be, the disposition to like men generally was in some degree of magnitude frequently found among native Americans who lived during the first seventy-five years of the last century.

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It was perhaps the greatest as well as the last gift of the young, poor Democracy. It was the realization by the people of one of the three great ideals of their form of government,—the ideal of fraternity, of being brother-men. And it is very fine and striking that Abraham Lincoln, a true child of that Democracy, and its last President before the changes which the War of the Rebellion and the increase in Wealth have brought about, should have been endowed with this disposition raised to its highest excellence and power. “He was naturally disposed to think well of his race. His prepossessions were generally in favor of a man. He would rather love than hate him; in fact, it seemed as if he could not hate him if he would.”¹¹ “He had no envy, malice or spite—no ill-feeling of any kind toward anybody.”¹²

Throughout his life he gave an enormous number of manifestations of this liking for his fellow men; and liking can be shown by sociability, by kindness

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in speech, manner and act, by good fellowship, and by humanity and in many other ways. His biographers have recounted and by many different adjectives have characterized these manifestations of liking on his part, but they have failed to gather them together and so to clearly show that their real motive force lay in a disposition to like mankind. It is therefore certainly justifiable, although so much has been written of Lincoln, to describe his disposition with considerable care and elaboration, especially in view of the great and noble light it casts on his character and acts. In doing so a word of warning is pertinent. The consideration of one great quality in a man, apart from his other characteristics, especially with the cumulative effect produced by one illustration after another, tends to give an exaggerated notion of it and to dwarf or hide his other qualities of heart and mind, intelligence and character. To counteract this, one must at all times remember that Lincoln had other great characteristics as highly de-

veloped as his disposition to like men generally. To dwell on the latter is not to the exclusion of his other traits. In nothing more than a combination of great qualities essentially strong and highly developed was Lincoln remarkable. But not until we appreciate his great qualities taken singly can we estimate their union in its exceptionality, greatness and splendor.

The best proof of a disposition to like men generally is to be fond of associating with them. For everybody enjoys being with the people one likes. The adorer is happy when he is with the adored, and the man who likes men enjoys mixing with his fellow men and having them about him. The life pursued by the recluse, the solitary or the anchorite is not for such men, while a life crowded with social intercourse, with mingling with people, with meetings, is the sort of life in which their nature finds most happiness and congeniality. Thus they have a peculiar fondness for all

festivities and merrymakings and all gatherings where friendliness and sociability are displayed and mirth and jollity prevail. In such meetings their disposition manifests itself and they show the liking they feel by being at once genial, pleasant, social and friendly. This they are naturally, unconsciously, and without an effort, for it is the appropriate expression of their own unassumed feelings. In brief, they seek companionship and are good companions, they enjoy fellowship and are good fellows. Lincoln answers to these tests. Throughout his life he felt an intense, pleasurable emotion in companionship, in jollity and in good fellowship.

Among the early settlers of Indiana and Illinois, with whom he lived as a boy and young man, friendly and social gatherings were customary and frequent,¹³ making due allowance that these people were few in number and that except in the settlements they lived far apart. Chief among these were weddings, dances,

house and barn raisings, "hoe downs," corn huskings, quilting parties and spelling bees. To all of these Lincoln liked to go. Lamon says ¹⁴ that when not invited to a merrymaking he "got mad." Then there were sports and games of all kinds, horse races, cock fights, trials of strength, wrestling and running matches. These too he liked to attend, and was himself a famous wrestler.¹⁵ Miss Tarbell states ¹⁶ perceptively that "the sports he preferred were those that brought men together." This is true, and it explains why, although the country was full of game and all men commonly hunted, Lincoln did not; it was a too solitary, still, and unsociable way of spending his time to suit his nature.¹⁷

On the other hand he loved to join any crowd of men that were socially passing the time away as they often did at the store, the mill or the blacksmith's.¹⁸ At such gatherings he was a large contributor of humor, geniality and mirth. He did so in various ways. He made

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comic and serious speeches, he delivered mock sermons, he retailed the news of the day, he sang songs, he was full of jokes, but his favorite mode was to tell humorous stories.¹⁹ His cousin, Dennis Hanks, says that "in Gentryville, about one mile west of Thomas Lincoln's farm, Lincoln would go and tell his jokes and stories, etc., and was so odd, original and humorous and witty that all the people in the town would gather around him. He would keep them there till midnight." ²⁰

And then Dennis adds a naïve touch, "I would get tired, want to go home, cuss Abe most heartily." How often in the world has a man less socially inclined than some more convivial companion "cussed him most heartily" for not being willing to go home.

When Lincoln was just twenty-two, he, with his stepbrother and a cousin, went down the Sangamon river in a canoe. Not far from Springfield they pulled out, cut down some trees, hewed the logs

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square and then rafted them down to Sangamon town. There, at Kilpatrick's mill, they got their logs sawed and out of the planks built a flat boat. While doing so they lived in a shanty and boarded themselves, Lincoln acting as cook. He is described ²¹ as being "funny, jokey and full of yarns, stories and rigs." It was the custom in Sangamon for the men to gather at noon and in the evening, when resting, in a convenient lane near the mill, where they had rolled out a long peeled log on which they lounged while they whittled and talked. Lincoln did not spend his hours by himself about the shanty but before he had been long in Sangamon joined this circle. Although a stranger, he at once became a favorite by his jokes, stories and good humor. So irresistibly droll were his "yarns" that, says an eye witness, "whenever he'd end up in his unexpected way the boys on the log would whoop and roll off." Presently out of compliment to the story-teller the men christened their seat, "Abe's log." ²²

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A few months later he “drifted into” the now long vanished town of New Salem. An election was going on and a crowd had gathered round the polling place. Lincoln joined it and when the Clerk of Elections wanted help he quickly but modestly volunteered. Later on when the votes came in slowly and things grew dull he told stories to amuse the crowd.²³ All this is thoroughly characteristic of a disposition to like men; and scenes like this where Lincoln was one of a crowd and told stories to entertain it were of constant recurrence throughout his life. Even when engaged in some pursuit which was intrinsically silent and solitary, like manual labor in the fields or surveying, his disposition manifested itself in this way. Thus John Romine, for whom he sometimes worked as a day laborer, had cause to complain and “used to get mad at him,” for Lincoln “would laugh and talk and crack jokes and tell stories all the time.”²⁴ And when he got a job of surveying “there was a picnic

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and a jolly time in the neighborhood. Men and boys gathered from far and near, ready to carry chain, drive stakes and blaze trees, if they could only hear Lincoln's odd stories and jokes. The fun was interspersed with foot races and wrestling matches." ²⁵ Such narratives furnish clear proof of his good fellowship and liking for men.

The town of New Salem in which Lincoln settled was a small and very primitive place, yet there was a large variety of people living there in proportion to the actual numbers of the population, ranging from what was fine if unpolished to what was very rough.²⁶ Lincoln associated with everybody on the pleasantest and most intimate footing. The best men of the town, the so-called Squire, the Minister, the tavern keeper, the schoolmaster, the village loafers, Jack Armstrong and the "Clary's Grove Boys," a very rough lot, were all his friends and so were their wives and children.²⁷

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The year following his arrival an Indian uprising took place, which gained the name of the Black Hawk War. Some regular troops took the field and volunteers to co-operate with them were called for. The young men of New Salem and vicinity formed a company and elected Lincoln their captain.²⁸ The so-called "campaign" against the Indians lasted some months and partook largely of a man's picnic. There was fun, "sport," and contests of strength during the days and much jollity and story-telling around the camp fires at night. Lincoln took a prominent part in all that went on,—joining in with the utmost heartiness,—and gave abundant proof of his liking men and his pleasure in associating with them.²⁹ Incidentally he also showed his humanity by saving a miserable, unarmed Indian from being slaughtered in cold blood by some of his men.³⁰ This would not be a very noteworthy illustration of a disposition to regard all men as brothers except for remembering that, broadly

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speaking, no Indian was regarded in a friendly way as a man and a brother; and that killing one was considered both a public benefaction and a legitimate sport. Lincoln's attitude was thus exceptional and showed the strength of his disposition, especially as his interference was extremely unpopular and could not be understood by his men.

On his return he ran for the Legislature of Illinois and actually polled 277 votes of the 290 that were cast and declared in the election precinct of New Salem.³¹ He never could have obtained such a majority of the votes after a residence among the voters of less than two years unless he had associated with all men on terms of equality and fraternity. Nothing else but the most exceptional circumstances could have produced the same result, and such exceptional circumstances did not exist.

From this time until he was forty he was extremely active in politics. He represented his district for eight succes-

sive years in the Legislature and finally went to Congress. Such office seeking and holding, especially in a young democratic community, involved much association with one's fellow men. So much so that a man who did not thoroughly enjoy association with his fellow men would hardly adopt politics as a career and certainly would not be successful therein. Votes were obtained more by personal solicitation and consequential liking than by party affiliation and support. Rival candidates would travel separately or together over their district, meeting the voters singly or in crowds. They would talk politics with any man they met and would make speeches whenever they could get an audience.³² In all this personal and intimate campaigning Lincoln manifested great enjoyment. His genial good fellowship and pleasant democratic ways were constantly displayed. He assumed no airs of superiority and was ever a simple, humorous and friendly brother-man.

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'After living about six years in New Salem and when he was twenty-eight years old he moved to Springfield where he settled permanently. His life there shows that he enjoyed all association with his fellow townspeople and manifested therein geniality, good fellowship and sociability. Until he was married he lived over the store of his friend Speed and was one of a number of young men who made the store³³ their club. With them, he formed a society for the encouragement of debate and other literary efforts.³⁴ They also founded the "Young Men's Lyceum," a more ambitious society. It "contained and commanded," says Herndon,³⁵ "all the culture and talent of the place." Lincoln was also "admitted to the best society" and "was recognized as a valuable social factor."³⁶ Just as at Gentryville he liked to go to all parties. "His name appears in every list of banqueters and merrymakers reported in the Springfield papers. He even served on committees for cotillon

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parties.”³⁶ A lady, who had known Lincoln in these Springfield days, told Miss Tarbell that “he was always a welcome guest everywhere, and the centre of a circle of animated talkers. Indeed, I think the only thing we girls had against Lincoln was that he always attracted all the men around him.”³⁷

“He was a man,” says his close friend, Governor Washburne, “of the most social disposition and was never so happy as when surrounded by congenial friends.”³⁸ And accordingly he spent much time in social intercourse with men. Judge Gillespie, who knew him intimately, states that “as a boon companion, Mr. Lincoln, though he never drank a drop of liquor or used tobacco in any form in his life, was without a rival.”³⁸

He was thirty-nine years old when, in 1848, he was in Washington as member of Congress. While there he was no more a recluse than he had been in Gentryville, New Salem or Springfield. His “simple, sincere friendliness and his

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quaint humor soon won him a sure, if quiet, social position in Washington. He was frequently invited to Mr. Webster's Saturday breakfasts,"³⁹ where his stories were highly relished for their originality and drollery. "Socially he always kept his company in a roar of laughter," says Alexander H. Stephens, who at this time knew him "well and intimately."⁴⁰ His name often appears in the "National Intelligencer" on committees to offer a public dinner to this or that great man, and in the Spring of 1849 he was one of the managers of the Inaugural Ball given to President Taylor.³⁹ He was a very popular member of a small club of good fellows and very genial talkers, who met almost daily to pass a mirthful hour or so in lively discussion of the news of the day and in telling humorous stories, in both of which social amusements Lincoln always participated with the greatest zest and pleasure. Mr. Ben Perly Poore, a well known newspaper correspondent, relates how this came

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about and gives a vivid picture of Lincoln. He says: "During the Christmas holidays Mr. Lincoln found his way into the small room used as the post office of the House, where a few jovial raconteurs used to meet almost every morning, after the mail had been distributed into the members' boxes, to exchange such new stories as any of them might have acquired since they had last met. After modestly standing at the door for several days, Mr. Lincoln was 'reminded' of a story, and by New Year's he was recognized as the champion story-teller of the Capitol. His favorite seat was at the left of the open fireplace, tilted back in his chair, with his long legs reaching over to the chimney jamb. He never told a story twice, but appeared to have an endless repertoire of them always ready, like the successive charges in a magazine gun, and always pertinently adapted to some passing event."⁴¹ Another social amusement was bowling, in games of which, with some of his friends and acquaint-

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ances, he frequently took part. He greatly enjoyed the game, the crowd, the prevailing spirit of jollity and the atmosphere of good feeling and fellowship. A capital description of him as he appeared on the alleys exists, written by a Dr. Busey, who boarded at the same boarding house with him and thus saw him daily. In his "Personal Reminiscences" Dr. Busey wrote,⁴² "I soon learned to know and admire Lincoln for his simple and unostentatious manners, kindheartedness and amusing jokes, anecdotes and witticisms. . . . He was very fond of bowling and would frequently join others of the mess or meet other members of Congress in a match game at the alley of James Casparis, which was near the boarding house. He was a very awkward bowler, but played the game with great zest and spirit, solely for exercise and amusement, and added greatly to the enjoyment and entertainment of the other players and bystanders by his criticisms and funny illustrations. He

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accepted success and defeat with like good nature and humor, and left the alley at the conclusion of the game without a sorrow or disappointment. When it was known that he was in the alley, there would assemble numbers of people to witness the fun which was anticipated by those who knew of his fund of anecdotes and jokes. When in the alley, surrounded by a crowd of eager listeners, he indulged with great freedom in the sport of narrative, some of which were very broad." "Sikerly he was of great disport" and "well in fellowship could laugh and talk."

In reference to Lincoln's proclivity for telling stories it should be noted that giving pleasure to others is often a manifestation of liking and that story-telling is one of the most ancient, simple and direct ways of entertaining and thus giving pleasure to another person. It is consequently habitually done by most men who like their fellow men. It is a peculiarly appropriate and char-

acteristic mode of expression for such men to use. And from the time he was a boy to the very day of his death Lincoln was a great teller of humorous and amusing stories.⁴³ Some he no doubt told to give point to a statement, and some perhaps in his later life to get relief and relaxation, but the great mass of them, probably more than ninety out of a hundred, were told just because he liked the listener. He was in a crowd, or he met a man,—friend, acquaintance, or stranger made little difference,—he felt friendly, kindly, sociable, and so he told a story. We lose the real significance of these stories if we regard their telling as an intentionally acquired custom or calculated practice. Their true and deep significance lies in being a way in which Lincoln expressed his liking for men.

There have been three criticisms made of these stories,—that Lincoln told too many,—that he occasionally told stories of a broad and jocose flavor, too coarse for some ears,—and lastly, that in the

dramatic narration of a story he showed want of respect for the dignity of his office when President. In small measure these criticisms are true, but they are of slight importance if we consider Lincoln's stories as merely a manifestation of his disposition to like men. In this aspect they redound to his credit. Moreover, taking these criticisms at their highest value, it is surely of trifling consequence that he erred sometimes in what were in his case only matters of taste. We can waive those, we could put up with far greater errors of taste, if Lincoln gains as he deserves to gain the reputation to which he is entitled of liking his fellow men, of ever being pleasant and genial with them, of telling no story except to please. There is no story of his that has not a hearty laugh in it, or that was ever told with any object except to give healthy amusement or occasionally to point an argument. Story-telling such as his was is high proof by itself of his companionable and social nature.

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On his return to Springfield from Washington his disposition to like people suffered no change or abatement. Nothing was more illustrative of this than his customary demeanor as he walked about the streets. Miss Tarbell gives an excellent description of it, saying ⁴⁴ that "Lincoln's kindly interest and perfect democratic feeling attached him to many people whom he never met save on the streets. Indeed his life in the streets of Springfield is a most touching and delightful study. He concerned himself in the progress of every building which was put up, of every new street which was opened; he passed nobody without recognition; he seemed always to have time to stop and talk." "Frequently in going along the street and meeting some friend he would start in with 'By the way, I am just reminded of a story,' ⁴⁵ and he would stop in the street and tell the yarn. There was no postponement on account of the weather." ⁴⁶ Thus he did not need a lively

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crowd to stimulate and arouse his disposition to genial and mirthful manifestations, and so great was its strength that meetings which would have passed off with most people in empty conventional expressions were turned by him into social occurrences which he enjoyed and in which he gave pleasure. The same thing happened when people came to see him in his office. Mr. Herndon states that:⁴⁷ “No matter how deeply interested in his work, if any one came in he had something humorous and pleasant to say, and usually wound up by telling a joke or an anecdote. I have heard him relate the same story three times within as many hours to persons who came in at different periods, and every time he laughed as heartily and enjoyed it as if it were a new story.” This great pleasantness of demeanor is testified to by many people. His partner, who would know it if anybody did, says⁴⁸ that: “He was always easy of approach and thoroughly democratic. He seemed to throw a charm

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around every man who ever met him. To be in his presence was a pleasure and no man left his company with injured feelings unless most richly deserved." And Judge David Davis, who observed him intimately for many years, summed the matter up when he said that "Mr. Lincoln's presence on the circuit was watched for with interest, and never failed to produce joy or hilarity. When casually absent, the spirits of both bar and people were depressed." ⁴⁹

Next to his demeanor, the way he spent his leisure time is most indicative of his disposition. For every man spends his leisure as he likes best, and Lincoln habitually spent his in social companionship with men. His friend, Mr. Whitney, writes ⁵⁰ that "Mr. Lincoln shone resplendently in association in a social sense with men. . . . He had a habit of being 'out with the boys,' and might be found frequently at Burnes's grocery at the southwest corner of the public square in Springfield entertaining the crowd,

such being the custom of the place at this time, and Burnes's was a general loafing place for all the local wits of the place."

His liking for men was so broad, he enjoyed so much being with a genial crowd that he was not at all particular what sort of men composed it,—all were brothers. He belonged to the inner circle of the lawyers of the Ménard County Bar; with them he had the happiest times of his life, among them were his closest personal friends, they were his intellectual companions, and to be indifferent to or dislike persons outside of any set to which one belongs is the common attribute of man, yet, one of these friends says ⁵¹ that he "would regale a miscellaneous crowd of farmers, stable boys and general roustabouts in the common waiting-room of a country inn with as much apparent zest as our coterie, embracing the élite of the bench and bar."

When temporarily away from Springfield he loved to surround himself with a crowd at the store or the tavern, and

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there, never drinking, forever telling stories, while the time away in laughter, jollity and good fellowship. Mr. HERN-
DON gives an interesting picture of him under these circumstances. He writes: "In the rôle of a story-teller I am prone to regard Mr. Lincoln as without an equal. I have seen him surrounded by a crowd numbering as many as two and in some cases three hundred persons, all deeply interested in the outcome of a story." . . . "While on the circuit in Ménard County, Lincoln met with William Engle and James Murray, two men who were noted also for their story-telling proclivities. . . . When Lincoln, Murray and Engle met, there was sure to be a crowd. All were more or less masters in their art. I have seen the little country tavern where these three men were wont to meet after an adjournment of court, crowded almost to suffocation with an audience of men who had gathered to witness the contest among the members of the strange triumvirate. The physician

of the town, all the lawyers, and not unfrequently a preacher, could be found in the crowd that filled the doors and windows. . . . Every recital was followed by its 'storm of laughter and chorus of cheers' . . . I have known these story-telling jousts to continue long after midnight—in some cases till the very small hours of the morning.”⁵²

A charming and wholly different picture of his love of associating with men is given by a Mr. Walker in the Lincoln Memorial Album. He says:⁵³

“My personal recollection of Mr. Lincoln, and what I have seen of him, in and about Springfield, dated from about the year 1842, and was almost continuous until he left for Washington, in February, 1861; . . . I well remember his coming in the office of Colonel Baker, where I studied and read law, almost every afternoon; and with his cheerful face and hearty greeting to myself and other students, ‘How are you this afternoon, boys,’ seat himself, and take up some text

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book that some of us were reading, and give us a close and rigid examination,⁵⁴ laughing heartily at our answers, at times; and always made the hour he spent with us interesting and instructive; occasionally relating, to the great amusement of all present, an anecdote; and, after the hour so spent, he would go out to a backyard used by the students and join them in a game of ball, with as much zest as any of us.”⁵⁵

Obviously a man who has the disposition to like men generally will greatly enjoy clubs. They offer him an ideal existence—just what his nature demands. This further proof of having this sort of a disposition Lincoln furnished in the fullest measure. Between 1836, when he was admitted to the Bar, until 1860, when he was elected President, Lincoln practiced Law as a profession and means of livelihood. During these years the courts in Illinois were peripatetic and were held in one town after another on a regular circuit. The lawyers followed the

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courts about and thus "went on circuit," as it is called. When lawyers do so they form an itinerant club. In Illinois the life among lawyers on circuit was much the same as it is the world over, except that the circumstances were very primitive and involved extreme intimacy. Travelling together in three seated spring wagons, in buggies and on horseback, the judge and lawyers went from town to town. They put up in country taverns in which there was little or no privacy or possibility of exclusiveness. "Ordinarily they slept two in a bed, with three or four beds in a room. They ate at a common table with jurors, witnesses, prisoners out on bail, travelling peddlers, teamsters and laborers." ⁵⁶ In the hours not occupied in Court Sessions or in pilgrimaging together from town to town they would mingle with the townspeople and while away the time, gossiping, discussing politics or telling stories. There was no getting away from one another except by going alone into the woods.

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For a great part of eighteen years, the whole of his middle life, Lincoln travelled the circuit and led this life. In every year of those eighteen years he was gone for several months away from home, sometimes even as much as six months continuously, and the circuit which he travelled was as large as the State of Massachusetts.⁵⁷ This was far more time than any other lawyer spent on circuit and in Lincoln's case there seems to have been absolutely no reason for it except that he liked it. Mr. Hill, who has given these years of his life particular study, says that the periods he spent on circuit were the happiest times of his life.⁵⁸ They could not have been, nor could he have enjoyed this life, unless he had loved the closest intimacy with his fellows, for that was the web and the woof of it. As soon expect a recluse to be happy if he had to spend his days and nights at a popular club as for one not liking his fellow men to enjoy life on the Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois.

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While “travelling the circuit” for all these years Lincoln displayed the qualities natural to his disposition and by doing so showed he enjoyed the life. He was a joyous, friendly companion—humorous, genial and a large contributor of mirth and jollity. To describe him as he appeared to his contemporaries at this time, I cannot do better than to quote what one of them has written.⁵⁹ His words are: “At this time the terms of court were held quarterly and usually lasted about two weeks. The terms were always seasons of great importance and much gaiety in the little town that had the honor of being the county seat. Distinguished members of the bar from surrounding and even from distant counties, ex-judges and ex-members of Congress attended, and were personally, and many of them popularly, known to almost every adult, male and female, of the limited population. They came in by stages and on horseback. Among them, the one above all whose arrival was looked for-

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ward to with the most pleasurable anticipations, and whose possible absence—although he never was absent—was feared with the liveliest emotions of anxiety, was ‘Uncle Abe,’ as we all lovingly called him. Sometimes he was a day or two late, and then, as the Bloomington stage came in at sundown, the bench and bar, jurors and citizens, would gather in crowds at the hotel where he always put up, to give him a welcome if he should happily arrive, and to experience the keenest disappointment if he should not. If he arrived, as he alighted and stretched out both his long arms to shake hands with those nearest to him and with those who approached, his homely face, handsome in its broad and sunny smile, his voice touching in its kindly and cheerful accents, every one in his presence felt lighter and joyous in heart. He brought happiness with him. He loved his fellow men with all the strength of his great nature.”⁶⁰

And this genial, loving brother-man was elected to the Presidency.

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That Lincoln was one of the most delightful companions ⁶¹ that could be imagined and that he was a good fellow in the highest sense of that word was known to his friends in Indiana and Illinois. The dignity of office and the cares of state might be expected at least to modify these characteristics. "Office changes manners." ⁶² But Lincoln's disposition was too strong for that. As he had been, he remained. A very keen observer and a very intelligent man, General Sherman, described him as he appeared towards the end of the war in these striking and impressive words: ⁶³

"When at rest or listening, his legs and arms seemed to hang almost lifeless, and his face was careworn and haggard; but the moment he began to talk his face lightened up, his tall form, as it were, unfolded, *and he was the very impersonation of good humor and fellowship.*"

Lincoln's opportunities while President for joining in a mirthful crowd and having a good time were of course very lim-

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ited. But whenever this could happen he took advantage of it and enjoyed himself greatly, always contributing to the pleasure of those, whether young or old, and of whatever sort or condition, with whom he was. A picture of this, charming and touching in its simplicity, is given by Mr. Blair, who says that:⁶⁴

“During the War my grandfather, Francis P. Blair, Sr., lived at Silver Springs, north of Washington, seven miles from the White House. It was a magnificent place of four or five hundred acres, with an extensive lawn in the rear of the house. The grandchildren gathered there frequently. There were eight or ten of us, our ages ranging from eight to twelve years. Although I was but seven or eight years of age, Mr. Lincoln’s visits were of such importance to us boys as to leave a clear impression on my memory. He drove out to the place quite frequently. We boys, for hours at a time, played ‘town ball’ on the vast lawn and Mr. Lincoln would join

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ardently in the sport. I remember vividly how he ran with the children, how long were his strides, and how far his coat tails stuck out behind, and how we tried to hit him with the ball as he ran the bases.⁶⁵ He entered into the spirit of the play as completely as any of us, and we invariably hailed his coming with delight.”

Another occasion when he had a pleasant, companionable time with a number of men is described by General Viele, who says:⁶⁶ “From that time until Mr. Lincoln’s death I enjoyed the closest intimacy with him. On one occasion he invited me to accompany him, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury in a revenue cutter from Washington to Fortress Monroe. There was a small cabin in the boat divided by four partitions. During the period of eight or ten days we were together we never lost sight of each other. During the trip we were constantly engaged in conversation and discussion about war

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matters, much of the time being occupied in listening to Mr. Lincoln's wonderful fund of reminiscence and anecdote. If I had been a stenographer it seems to me that I could have filled a large volume made up of these remarkable stories. Of course I could not remember all of them. I remember many of them. Some of them it would be hardly right to print."

Although companionship with a number of his fellow mortals was very rare during the years he was President yet Lincoln saw and met during that time more people than did any other man in the Country—most of whom he saw on one occasion only. This fact as well as the dignity and etiquette of office would tend to prevent even a strong disposition to like men from showing much liking. But Lincoln's disposition was so strong that throughout his Presidency he almost invariably made meetings with friends or strangers the occasion for some genial manifestation of liking and good fellowship—often by telling a

laugh-provoking story. Countless illustrations of this—to be differentiated from the occasions when he told a story to point a moral or an argument—could be given. One which capitally shows his simple geniality and good fellowship is the following:

An employé in the Military Telegraph Office in the War Department says⁶⁷ that “Lincoln often visited the office and was always affable and courteous, sometimes even familiar, in his intercourse with the attachés. . . . The last time I saw him was on the afternoon of April 11th, three days prior to his assassination. He came to the office as usual that afternoon, and something reminded him of a story, and to illustrate the finalé he gathered his coat-tails under his arms and, with about three long strides, crossed the room and passed out of the door with the last words of the story echoing from his lips.”

A few days passed, and then in the afternoon before his death some old

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friends came in to see him and, for amusement's sake, he read aloud to them parts of a humorous book. When he had finished, he expressed a wish that he could spend the evening with them talking of old times, laughing over old reminiscences and in genial companionship, but he said that he had to go to the theatre.⁶⁸

Thus we come to the end of Lincoln's life. I have shown by the testimony of many witnesses covering all his years that from the time he was a little boy he spent a great many hours in intimate association with men, which he enjoyed instinctively, with all his heart, without a thought for the morrow.⁶⁹ We cannot dwell too much on this trait and learn to read its striking significance—that Lincoln was a true brother-man who liked men most heartily and catholically.

But while enjoyment in associating with men is the earmark of a disposition to like men generally, and must consequently be found before such a disposition can be attributed to a man, yet once

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clearly found, as in Lincoln's case, our conception of his disposition can be greatly enhanced and deepened by considering other manifestations of his liking, for liking can be shown in many ways; and with a disposition to like men so strong as Lincoln's was there is a great choice of such other manifestations to consider.

Of all the ways, however, in which a disposition to like men manifests itself, the most characteristic, apart from liking to associate with men, is a general kindliness of thought and feeling and act and word shown in all meetings, whether casual or set, whether for one purpose or another, whether social or formal, gay or serious. It is particularly characteristic because it is emotional, is not caused by anything except liking and cannot be affected. It should also be noted that while general kindliness excludes in terms and in fact many qualities which indicate dislike and the non-possession of a disposition to like men generally, to wit,

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hardness of heart, lack of consideration for others, predatoriness, envy, malice and meanness of all kinds, it includes many manifestations of liking which are often taken by themselves and described under other names, as, for instance, pleasantness, kind-heartedness, beneficence, humanity and many more, all which terms are of constant use by biographers of Lincoln.⁷⁰

It was with Lincoln as we should expect from one who liked his brother-men so well. Throughout his life he showed a general kindliness of speech and manner, of thought and feeling and action towards men, women⁷¹ and children,⁷² which was of great strength and beauty in his early as well as his later days. After his death, Mr. Herndon, his friend, partner for many years and biographer, travelled about in Indiana and Illinois interviewing people who had known Lincoln as he grew up from boyhood into youth and manhood.⁷³ He collected a great store of reminiscences and anec-

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dots. Many of these show acts of kindness on Lincoln's part very unusual in a boy or youth. They fully substantiate Mr. Whitney's statement ⁷⁴ that "one of Lincoln's youthful characteristics, and one which adhered to him through life, was his uniform kindness to any and all living things." And while very many acts of kindness are recorded in Mr. Herdon's collection of anecdotes, the particularly noteworthy thing in these narratives is that Lincoln had impressed his friends and neighbors as being "kind," and that they did so remember him.⁷⁵ To have gained such a memory he must have done far more kind things than are recorded, many as these are. He must have been generally and usually kindly. That this conclusion is correct is assured by the phrase one constantly comes across in reading these reminiscences of Lincoln's early days,—he is described as being "obliging."⁷⁶ And a name for being "obliging" in country parlance is gained and can only be gained by willingly doing

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things for others that they want done (which is a high variety of kindness) and by doing them habitually. That Lincoln thus acquired the name is happily confirmed by the phrase which one of his neighbors used about him,—“He was always ready to do everything for everybody.”⁷⁷

So Caleb Carman, who lived in New Salem and with whom Lincoln boarded when postmaster, found him.⁷⁸ He says: “Lincoln was liked by every person who knew him. While he boarded with me he made himself useful in every way that he could. If the water bucket was empty he filled it; if wood was needed he chopped it; and was always cheerful and in good humor. He started out one morning with the axe over his shoulder, and I asked him what he was going to do. His answer was: ‘I am going to try a project.’ When he returned he had two hickory poles on his shoulders, and in a very short time two of my chairs had new bottoms.”

This account is thoroughly typical. It

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may be supplemented by another as typical anecdote; which is, that when more guests came to the Tavern than could be accommodated Lincoln, who was regularly living there, cheerfully gave up his bed to oblige the tavern-keeper and went over to the store, where he slept on the hard counter.⁷⁹ If this story stood alone it would amount to nothing, but as one of a hundred similar others it indicates a great deal respecting Lincoln's disposition and becomes profoundly significant.

It was the same later on in Springfield. Mr. Littlefield, a clerk in his office there, says that "Lincoln always manifested interest in everybody with whom he associated. When you first met him and studied him he impressed you with being . . . a very kind man. He struck you as a man who would go out of his way to serve you. . . . I never in all my life associated with a man who seemed so ready to serve another."⁸⁰

Yet, to be quite candid, he very occa-

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sionally did do things which were unkind. If he had not, he would not have been human, so one may be glad it was so. Thus when a boy he retaliated for injuries done him by *The Chronicles of Reuben* and other lampoons, and later on he would sometimes in political speeches indulge in caustic personalities and pretty brutal ridicule. In these cases it would seem that other qualities were stronger and had for the time being the upper hand over his disposition.⁸¹ But as he grew older his disposition kept them down and became the great controlling and impelling force in his daily life so far as his relations with his fellow men were concerned.⁸¹

This was marked after he came back from Congress and travelled the Circuit.⁸² Here interwoven with all his humor and good fellowship ran this deep vein of kindness. It was particularly shown in his relations with his brother lawyers. Against them he was constantly trying cases and was very successful.⁸³

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Almost invariably the jury lawyer is an aggressive person, full of arrogance in success, in defeat rancorous. But Lincoln's attitude toward his brother lawyers was the very opposite of this. It is most concisely and completely described in the words of one of those who practiced with him, which are—"He arrogated to himself no superiority over anyone—not even the most obscure member of the Bar. He treated everyone with the simplicity and kindness that friendly neighbors manifest in their relations with one another."⁸⁴

Simplicity, kindness and friendliness,—these are qualities that the brother-man ever shows, and can only spring from a deep feeling of liking for his brother-men.

A liking of this sort should win a great response. It is true Lincoln commanded great popularity but there went out to him also something deeper. It was most simply and adequately described by Judge Davis, than whom nobody was better qualified to speak, when he said,⁸⁵

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“Lincoln was *loved* by his brethren of the bar.”

And from these men who loved him, Lincoln went to Washington as President. The dignity of office, the sense of superiority, the engrossing cares of statesmanship, not to speak of base qualities, like pride, vanity and conceit, bred by station and cultivated by flattery, generally prevent much liking and kindness being shown by men in high position. Moreover, Lincoln had special difficulties of his own. He was without any experience as an administrator or ruler. Then the country almost immediately plunged into a great and civil war. Enormous difficulties are imposed by a great war upon the government of any country waging it, but when the war is a civil one and where the form of government is a modern republic the difficulties become almost insuperable. There can be no human burden greater than that of the President of such a government under such conditions.⁸⁶

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In spite of all these checks Lincoln's disposition knew no change or abatement. As I have said, he showed throughout the War, whenever he had the opportunity, the same love of association and good fellowship he had "back in Indiana and Illinois." So too he showed the same kindness by which he had won the love of his brother lawyers.⁸⁷ "His real kindness of heart is always coming out in the most striking way and it was not impaired by the Civil War," wrote Mr. Goldwin Smith in an essay which at least shows no prepossessions in Lincoln's favor.⁸⁸ In point of fact not only was it not impaired but the conditions of the War proved it to be extraordinarily great, though it had been great in Indiana and Illinois. The field there was relatively small, under the conditions of the War it was immense. And Lincoln's disposition was large and strong enough to cover the field.

Men and women, politicians, office-seekers, friends and enemies came to see him to ask favors, to criticize wisely or

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foolishly, sometimes to find fault; many were importunate, many were trying, few were pleasant. Yet to all who came, and they poured in on him every day,⁸⁹ all day long and even at night, without ceasing, for over four long years, he showed almost unvarying kindliness in face, in manner, in word and act.⁹⁰

This habitual demeanor is excellently described by William H. Crook, who, as bodyguard of Lincoln in 1864, had ample opportunities for observation. He states⁹¹ that "Men came in a never-ending stream to the White House. The greater part of the callers were there for one occasion only. A general kindliness marked the President's manner toward all who came to see him. Once I preferred a request on my own behalf to him. He listened to my story as patiently as if he had not heard hundreds like it. I like to remember how kindly he looked at me. As I have said, his constant attitude was one of kindly consideration."

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This is confirmed in a very striking way. There is a book ⁹² which contains forty-five narratives by various people of their meetings with Lincoln. In fifteen of them the word "kind" or "kindness" or "kindly" is used in speaking of Lincoln's demeanor. In twenty-two more of them equivalent or synonymous phrases are used. There remain only eight and all these relate to some matter in which mention of his kindliness would not be pertinent. This is a most remarkable agreement among witnesses. I do not know where to find its parallel, especially as these witnesses are of all sorts, classes, professions and characters. They include George William Curtis, the editor; General Howard; Secretary Seward and his son; Frank B. Carpenter, the portrait painter; Grace Greenwood, a bright and intelligent woman; public officials, Congressmen, privates and officers in the Army. Moreover to this list there could be added the names of many other people, equally varying

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in sort and condition, who have in other publications stated that Lincoln was "kind" or "kindly." Indeed practically every man who saw him and made any record of his impressions has said this. To take one out of a great many, Charles A. Dana, a singularly shrewd and accurate observer, says ⁹³—"There was such a charm and beauty about his expression, such good humor and friendly spirit looking from his eyes,⁹⁴ that when you were with him you thought of nothing except 'What a kindly character this man has.' He was kind at heart to all the world. . . . I never heard him say a harsh word to anybody, I never heard him speak a word of complaint even. . . . I never heard him say an unkind thing about anybody. Now and then he would laugh at something jocose or satirical that somebody had done or said but it was always pleasant humor. He would never allow the wants of any man or woman to go unattended to if he could

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help it.”⁹⁵ *There* is the ever recurring mention of Lincoln’s being “obliging” in the country sense. And then Dana tells a story of his thoughtful kindness and adds, “That was the man—kindly and affectionate to everybody.”

It is very unusual to find this sort of personal kindness showing in business or official relations. If any reader will stop to consider how many men he has seen on business who gave him the impression of being kindly, he will begin to realize this. It becomes extraordinary and unmatched when one considers that Lincoln was engrossed in great affairs, working to the limit of his strength, full of troubles,⁹⁶ often very anxious, often greatly perplexed and cruelly harassed,—almost all the time very tired and part of the time, at least, run down physically and near the breaking point.⁹⁷

And yet you may turn anywhere in his life at Washington and you come across this deep kindness of manner and act. Thus, turn to his relations

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with committees and deputations who came to see him and you meet with the accounts of an audience which he gave to a delegation of Missourians opposed to Lincoln's policy in regard to the factional politics of that State. This matter, as is well known, gave him a great deal of serious trouble, and the way intelligent Missourians behaved was enough to irritate a saint. On this occasion the Chairman read aloud an address. Its point of view was intensely partisan and consequently distressing to Lincoln. Its tone was fault-finding, peremptory, demanding and improper. Nevertheless his reply, which was long, was entirely kind. Ex-Governor Johnson, one of the Committee, writing about it, said: "He spoke with great kindness. . . . I had met Mr. Lincoln twice before then. This time he appeared different from what he had on the two former occasions. There was a perplexed look on his face. When he said he was bothered about this thing, he showed it. He

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spoke kindly, yet now and then there was a little rasping tone in his voice which seemed to say: 'You men ought to fix this thing up without tormenting me.' But he never lost his temper." ⁹⁸

Turn to his relations with his Cabinet, and to that excited meeting after Lincoln had restored McClellan to command. Most if not all of his Cabinet objected. In voicing his disapproval Stanton was as disagreeable and bitter as possible. In spite of this, Secretary Welles who was present says that the President's "language and manner were kind and affectionate, especially toward two of the members who were greatly disturbed." ⁹⁹

Turn to his relations with his Generals. The behavior of one towards Lincoln was inexcusable. It would have justified anger, contempt, resentment and personal antipathy. Yet none of these natural feelings were shown by Lincoln. His letters and telegrams to General McClellan are infused with real

emotional kindness and Colonel McClure, who saw Lincoln many times during the Campaign of 1864 when McClellan was his competitor for the Presidency and there was no possible restraint on Lincoln's talking as would come naturally to him, "never heard him speak of McClellan in any other than terms of the highest personal respect and kindness." ¹⁰⁰

Turning from his relations with his officers to those with his soldiers we find Secretary Stanton expressing himself thus, "It seems to me that the President would rather have a fuss with anybody than miss a chance to do a kindness to a private soldier." ¹⁰¹

Here we have again recurring the same disposition to "oblige" that he showed in New Salem as a boy, in Springfield in middle life, and that Mr. Dana mentions twice ¹⁰² as an essential characteristic of Lincoln, the President.

Then consider his attitude towards the enemies of the Union he loved so well,

and one finds that all his policy, his speeches and his acts show great kindness toward them. Isaac Arnold—who from being in Congress during the War is peculiarly well qualified to express an opinion—states in his *Life of Lincoln*,¹⁰³ that, “in the midst of the fierce passions and bitter animosities growing out of the war, many thought him too mild and forebearing; but his conviction was clear, and his determination firm, that when there was a sincere repentance, then there should be pardon and amnesty. In the face of those who sternly demanded punishment and confiscation, and the death of traitors and conspirators, he declared: ‘When a man is sincerely penitent for his misdeeds, and gives satisfactory evidence of it, he can safely be pardoned.’ ”¹⁰⁴

“When the fiery and eloquent Henry Winter Davis, the stern, blunt, down-right Ben Wade, and the unforgiving Thaddeus Stevens, demanded retaliation, confiscation, death, desolation and

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bloody execution, the voice of Lincoln rose clear above the storm, firm, gentle, but powerful, like the voice of God. 'With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right,' he hushed the raging storm of passion, and brought back peace and reconciliation."

"To this day, the South does not appreciate nor does the world know, how much the Confederates are indebted to the humane, kind, almost divine spirit of Lincoln."

And with this passage compare the striking words of Alexander H. Stephens, the noblest man with the deepest perceptions of all the leaders of the South: "I knew Mr. Lincoln well. . . . Every fountain of his heart was ever over-flowing with the milk of human kindness. . . . (His death) was the climax of our troubles, and the spring from which came unnumbered woes." ¹⁰⁵

And by way of further illustrating his disposition to the enemies of his country

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General Grant can be quoted.¹⁰⁶ He said that Lincoln "always showed a generous and kindly spirit toward the Southern people and I never heard him abuse an enemy." And Senator Morgan of Alabama, who fought on the side of the South, said:¹⁰⁷ "His most conspicuous virtue as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy was the absence of a spirit of resentment or oppression toward the enemy."¹⁰⁸ And Governor Boutwell of Massachusetts, a man of character and intelligence, has stated¹⁰⁹ in a carefully considered study of Lincoln that "President Lincoln excelled all his contemporaries as he also excelled most of the eminent rulers of every time in the humanity of his nature."

This kindliness towards those who were participating in a rebellion against the government of which Lincoln was the head showed itself in a curious and intensely characteristic way. He did not hesitate to call *things* by their right names and to say: "Ours is a case of

rebellion—so-called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant and gigantic case of rebellion.”¹¹⁰ But when he spoke of the *men* engaged in maintaining this rebellion he refrained from speaking of them as “rebels” and habitually called them “confederates” or “those Southern gentlemen.”¹¹¹ They were men and brothers, whatever the nature of the enterprise they were engaged in.

Lincoln’s kindness to the enemies of his country is all the more striking when one considers that the temper of the times and of many good men was very different. For instance, so wise, friendly, and humane a man as Governor Andrew of Massachusetts issued a “Proclamation by the Governor and Commander in Chief,” addressed to “Men of Massachusetts !!”, which begins, “The wily and barbarous horde of traitors . . . again menace the National Capitol.”¹¹²

Lastly, turn and consider Lincoln’s attitude toward those who, making a grievous

mistake, hated him personally. He himself described his feeling toward them in a talk he had with James S. Rollins, a Congressman from Missouri during the War. Mr. Rollins spoke to Lincoln early in 1865 of a plot to assassinate him. "Pausing a moment, the smile which had just lighted up his face departed and a certain melancholy expression took its place, and he said seriously, and in language which he evidently felt, 'Rollins, I don't see what on God's earth any man would wish to kill me for, for there is not a human being living *to whom I would not extend a favor,* and make them happy if it was in my power to do so.' " ¹¹³

These words must be sharply differentiated from the many stories of rulers, reformers and teachers who before being assassinated have expressed surprise that anybody should wish to kill them because, forsooth, whatever causes of hatred they had given, they had done nothing but "for the public good,"—a matter about

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which they were often mistaken and never could be certain. Lincoln's attitude had no assumption of being a misunderstood benefactor nor any self-complacency. It was simply that there was nobody, not even a prospective murderer, to whom he was not ready to do a good turn. It was but another manifestation of his ever willing and constant disposition to be "obliging" to everybody.

This general kindness to strangers, to his acquaintances, to his friends, to his critics, however harsh and ill-mannered, to those who were the enemies of the Union he had taken oath to preserve and to those who were personally hostile to him, was the last and greatest expression of his disposition. If we consider his position, his masterfulness, his firmness, his self-reliance, if we then consider his occupations, his trials, his difficulties, the constant and enormous wear and tear and nervous strain of the time, it becomes something which the whole world has never

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seen under approachingly similar circumstances in another man.

To appreciate its full wonder and beauty, we must catch a peculiar note sometimes struck by him, the note of a particular tenderness and affection in his kindliness. This is best described in the words of those who felt it. Thus General Howard, speaking of an interview with the President in his tent after a review, says,¹¹⁴ "He was very kind and *fatherly*." And Mr. George William Curtis, who, like General Howard, was peculiarly sensitive to sentimental expressions and could correctly describe them, wrote of an interview with Lincoln as follows:¹¹⁵ "When we rose to leave Mr. Lincoln accompanied us to the door of the room and as he shook my hand and said good-bye, he said with a *paternal* kindness and evident profound conviction: 'We shall beat them, *my son*—we shall beat them.' " And when that proud and vainglorious officer, General Hooker, received and read the

famous letter Lincoln wrote to him appointing him to the command of the Army of the Potomac he turned to Noah Brooks and said: ¹¹⁶ “ That is just such a letter as a *father* might write to a son. It is a beautiful letter, and although I think he was harder on me than I deserved, I will say that I love the man who wrote it.” ¹¹⁷ And lastly there are two little statements which strikingly illustrate this fatherly note. Each of the narrators was a telegrapher in the War Department during the War. These men and some others occupied a room to which Lincoln often came for news.

One of them has written in his reminiscences ¹¹⁸ that “ in our cipher code were several words, each translated ‘ Jefferson Davis.’ Other words stood for ‘ Robert E. Lee’ and so on. Whenever Mr. Lincoln came to these words (in reading aloud the messages we received as was his custom), he would shorten or transform them into something else, for instance, ‘ Jeffy D.,’ ‘ Bobby Lee,’

etc., so that there seemed to go out from him at such times, and indeed on many other occasions, a gentle, kindly influence. He seemed to be thinking of the leaders of the Rebellion as *wayward sons* rather than as traitorous brethren."

The other man wrote in his diary the morning after Lincoln's assassination, "Our office feels most keenly the affliction which has thus been brought to the whole country in the death of Abraham Lincoln; for we had learned to look upon him in his daily visits there *almost as a companion, while we venerated him as a father for his goodness.*" ¹¹⁹

This note of fatherly affection that Lincoln displayed gives the deepest measure of his kindness and shows how sincere, uncalculated, spontaneous and emotional it was. ¹²⁰

The poet, with the poet's vision, perceived this paternally affectionate quality in Lincoln's demeanor and voiced it in the well known chorus—"We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred

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thousand strong.” And with that instinctive response which men give to a truth when properly uttered by seer or poet or prophet, this song was taken up and sung by countless voices through the cities of the North and by the Armies of the Republic in the field; men and boys, officers and privates found something that rang true to their minds and hearts in calling the President of their republican country, however much he might be criticized and condemned,—“Father Abraham.” ¹²¹

It is a great pity, however, to exaggerate this feeling and, as some writers have, sentimentalize about it.¹²² The easiest way to avoid this is to remember that Lincoln’s kindliness, of which this paternal note was an expression, sprang from his disposition, which manifested itself in various ways. The man or men to or of whom he was speaking and the circumstances of the time and place governed the manifestation. Under some conditions he was jovial and sociable, under

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others friendly, kindly and obliging, under still others, and more rarely, affectionate and fatherly. But the liking was always there.

It would be easy to go on and show manifestations of this general liking other than those which have been illustrated in this essay. For instance, there is one so peculiarly characteristic of a disposition to like men generally that a few words about it will materially add to our conception of Lincoln's disposition. Without going too deeply into the psychology of liking we all know that when we like a man we are rather blind to his faults, and if they are brought to our attention we slur them over and say all the good we know, even if it be irrelevant, of the person in question. This trait is universal. Now a disposition to like men presupposes liking being shown to many in exactly the same ways that the average individual shows it to any one of the few he likes. Hence if we can find this mode of ex-

pressing liking shown to a number of men who are faulty, and especially to a segregated class of evil-doers, there is a most perfect characteristic of the disposition. And by great good fortune this exists in Lincoln's case.

In 1841 he made a speech in Springfield before the Washington Temperance Society.¹²³ In the course of this speech he said in reference to drunkards, "They are not demons, nor even the worst of men, generally they are kind, generous and charitable, even beyond the example of their more staid and sober neighbors." . . . "Indeed I believe if we take habitual drunkards as a class, their heads and their hearts will bear an advantageous comparison with those of any other class."

These words coming from one who was a total abstainer on principle, though living in a community where drinking was extraordinarily prevalent,¹²⁴ are very striking. They are not the product of ignorance or of folly but are simply the natural expression of Lincoln's disposi-

tion. His words are not of hatred nor indifference nor condemnation; hence they must be words of liking, and are especially typical words of liking in that they pass over the sin and dwell on the good qualities of the sinner. I do not mean that Lincoln liked drunkards as such, but he liked men and the catholicity of his liking was so great that the mere fact that drunkenness was an evil thing did not cause him to banish drunkards from the category of men. "They are not demons," he says. On the contrary they are men; and being men he liked them and says good of them. It is exactly what an ordinary man might say of one particular drunkard known to him extended by the force of Lincoln's disposition to include many drunkards, some known to him, others unknown. If only this one speech existed, it would need little more to show how broad and deep Lincoln's disposition to like men was.

It seems to me to be unnecessary to

consider still other manifestations of his liking, especially as it would compel this essay to be extended into a complete study of his disposition and of its relations with his other great qualities, while its only purpose is to prove beyond all peradventure that he had a disposition of a particular kind.

There is real value in doing this. Apart from ascertaining the Truth, which is always an end of itself, it makes the character of Lincoln more intelligible.

There are many things in Lincoln's life and in his character, disposition and abilities which encourage extravagance of statement and especially the opinion of his being a mysterious and inexplicable personage.¹²⁵ Not until we have studied his life in relation to the lives of other Americans similarly situated,¹²⁶ and not until we thoroughly understand the main traits and qualities that he possessed could such statements, if at all, be justified. And then they would, if proved

to be true, be a misfortune to his race. For there is nothing in an abnormal character of encouragement or of light on the path which for countless more generations men must excitedly, yet blindly, pursue. Herein lies the value of having it made clear that much in Lincoln's life was determined by a disposition which so far as its kind goes is well known and familiar. All its exceptionality lay in its greatness and force.

In these respects it is exceeded by that of no recorded man. Beyond saying this it is extremely difficult to give a measure in words to Lincoln's disposition. There is no scale as with the intelligence. With that the term genius designates the highest manifestations. We can, however, say that as the most supreme genius is to the average man's intelligence, so was Lincoln's disposition to the average man's. Joshua Speed, who knew Lincoln well, corroborates this by saying that Lincoln was "a common man expanded into giant proportions."¹²⁷ And there is

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no disparagement in that idea, for of the man, who has been worshipped by more men and women than any other, the Japanese reverently say, "Even the Great Buddha was a common man."

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The Portrait of Lincoln at the beginning of this essay is a reproduction of a photograph made by Gardner of Washington and "published by Philp and Solomons" of Washington. I believe it has never before been reproduced, and it is noteworthy as being the only portrait of Lincoln that I know that represents him as smiling.

The abbreviations of the Titles of the Books referred to in the following Notes are as follows:

"T."—The Life of Abraham Lincoln by Ida M. Tarbell, in two volumes, published by The Doubleday & McClure Company, 1900.

"T.'s Early Life."—The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln by Ida M. Tarbell, assisted by J. McCan Davis, published by S. S. McClure Limited, 1896.

"R. R."—Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of his Time—Collected and Edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, published by The North American Review, 1889.

"B."—Abraham Lincoln by Henry Bryan Binns, in the Temple Biographies Series, published by J. M. Dent & Co., 1907.

"Hill"—Lincoln The Lawyer by Frederick Trev-

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- or Hill, published by The Century Company, 1906.
- “ R.”—Lincoln—Master of Men, A Study in Character by Alonzo Rothschild, published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906.
- “ O.”—Abraham Lincoln by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, in American Crisis Biographies Series, published by George W. Jacobs & Company, 1904.
- “ A. L. T.”—Abraham Lincoln—Tributes from His Associates—Reminiscences of Soldiers, Statesmen and Citizens, published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895.
- “ L. M. A.”—The Lincoln Memorial—Collected and Edited by Osborn H. Oldroyd, published by Lincoln Publishing Company of Springfield, Illinois, 1890.
- “ A.”—The Life of Abraham Lincoln by Isaac W. Arnold, published by A. C. McClurg & Company, 1893.
- “ N. & H.”—Abraham Lincoln—A History by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, published by The Century Company, 1890.
- “ L.”—The Life of Abraham Lincoln by Ward H. Lamon, published by James R. Osgood and Company, 1872.
- “ H.”—Herndon's Lincoln by William H. Herndon and Jesse William Weik, published by Belford-Clarke Co., 1890.
- “ W.”—Lincoln The Citizen by Henry C. Whitney, published by The Current Literature Publishing Company, 1907.
- “ L. & H.”—Lincoln and Herndon by J. F. Newton, published by The Torch Press, 1910.

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¹ James Russell Lowell's Essay on "Chaucer" in *Collected Works*, Riverside Edition, Vol. III, p. 365.

² Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. IV, Chap. XI.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Chap. XII.

⁴ Said by Miss Baillie to Charles Eliot Norton.

⁵ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. V, Chap. III.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. I.

⁷ Bagehot's Essay on "Shakespeare—the Man" in "Literary Studies"; also in Vol. I of the Travellers Insurance Company's edition of the Works of Walter Bagehot, pages 268, 269.

⁸ Stanley Lane-Poole's *Life of Saladin*, in "Heroes of Nations" Series, Chap. XXII, on pages 368 et seq., also Chap. XXIII.

⁹ *Ibid.*, on pages 369 and 370.

¹⁰ Arthur Hugh Clough, *Poems*, v. "Jacob."

¹¹ L. M. A. 302.

¹² W. 170; to same effect G. W. Julian in R. R. 59 and 60.

¹³ L. 42, 43, 44; L. & H. 316.

¹⁴ L. 55.

¹⁵ L. 54, 83; R. R. 219, 463.

¹⁶ I T. 25; T.'s *Early Life*, 90.

¹⁷ L. 53, 54.

¹⁸ L. 56, 57; I T. 22; T.'s *Early Life*, 64.

¹⁹ L. 57-61, 67.

²⁰ L. 67.

²¹ L. 80.

²² I T. 52-53; T.'s *Early Life*, 105.

²³ I N. & H. 78; I T. 61; T.'s *Early Life*, 118.

²⁴ L. 36; H. 32.

²⁵ I T. 132.

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²⁶ L. M. A. 556; I T. 63, 106, 107; T.'s Early Life, 107 and Chap. IX.

²⁷ I T. 106, 107; T.'s Early Life, Chap. IX et passim.

²⁸ I T. 76; T.'s Early Life, 137, 138.

²⁹ I T. Chap. VI.

³⁰ I T. 77; T.'s Early Life, 141.

³¹ T.'s Early Life, 158.

³² I T. 108; cf. 89; T.'s Early Life, Chap. XIII.

³³ I T. 148; cf. 62; H. 187, 188.

³⁴ H. 188.

³⁵ H. 189, 190.

³⁶ I T. 170.

³⁷ I T. 171; L. 144.

³⁸ R. R. 13; L. M. A. 460; to same effect S. S. (Sunset) Cox, in L. M. A. 464; I T. 145; B. 337.

³⁹ I T. 210 and 209; to same effect Ben Perley Poore in R. R. 222.

⁴⁰ A. 77, 78; L. & H. 29.

⁴¹ R. R. 217, 218; cf. I T. 211.

⁴² Quoted from I T. 208 and 210.

⁴³ A. L. T. 218.

⁴⁴ I T. 171.

⁴⁵ L. 470; H. 589.

⁴⁶ A. L. T. 202.

⁴⁷ H. 318.

⁴⁸ H. 609; to same effect W. 170.

⁴⁹ I N. & H. 303; H. 183; I T. 245.

⁵⁰ W. 167.

⁵¹ W. 190, and see 189.

⁵² H. 310 et seq.

⁵³ L. M. A. 213.

⁵⁴ "Gladly would he learne and gladly teache," see H. 317; L. 34, 70; L. M. A. 520.

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⁵⁵ On Lincoln's playing ball, see text, pages 48 and 49; also L. 451; and I T. 357.

⁵⁶ I T. 243, 244; and see Hill, 172, 173, and Chap. XVI; also R. R. 15.

⁵⁷ Hill, 167; and see Chap. XVI.

⁵⁸ Hill, 168; and see Chap. XVI.

In considering Lincoln's love of club life, and remembering that the village store has many of the characteristics of a club, a man who did not like meeting with his fellowmen and holding converse with them could hardly have lived the life Lincoln did, in which store life played so great a part; for not only did he frequent Jones' store at Gentryville, but later on, when he settled at New Salem, he became a clerk in Offutt's store and subsequently was a storekeeper himself. Still later he lived with a storekeeper over his store in Springfield, and was one of a coterie of young men who made the store their headquarters and club. And in the following years at Springfield and in the country he often joined a crowd at "the store" to tell stories or discuss politics. And also consider his being postmaster at New Salem for a time. The village post office partakes in a measure of being a club, and the postmaster has "endless opportunities for sociability, discussion and gossip;" see B. 44.

⁵⁹ L. E. Chittenden's "Personal Reminiscences," 365.

⁶⁰ See note 49; cf. Isaac N. Arnold's statement that Lincoln "brought light with him," quoted in N. & H. 308.

⁶¹ See note 38.

⁶² II Don Quixote, (Duffield's Translation), 486.

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"For four years he wielded a power and a personal authority greater than that exercised by any monarch on earth," says a writer in the *London Spectator* of April 25, 1891.

⁶³ L. M. A. 367; cf. R. R. 230, and 241, 242.

⁶⁴ II T. 88.

⁶⁵ See note 55.

⁶⁶ A. L. T. 118; for another instance see R. R. 418, 419.

⁶⁷ A. L. T. 159, 165.

⁶⁸ II T. 235, 236.

⁶⁹ B. 337; and cf. references cited in note 38.

⁷⁰ See page 17.

⁷¹ I T. 107; B. 327, 328; L. 41, 144; R. R. 360, 507; H. 116.

⁷² Ward Hill Lamon's "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," Chap. X; cf. I T. 235, 236; H. 487.

⁷³ I T. 40.

⁷⁴ W. 41; cf. L. 35, 40.

⁷⁵ L. 41; I T. 44.

⁷⁶ I T. 106.

⁷⁷ L. 38, 41; cf. H. 124.

⁷⁸ L. M. A. 518.

⁷⁹ I T. 106; cf. H. 124, 125.

⁸⁰ A. L. T. 204; cf. I T. 246.

⁸¹ On this whole paragraph, see L. 63; W. 43, 47, 145, and 183; A. 416; Pearson's *Life of Governor Andrew*, I, 307; and B. 358.

⁸² W. 196; R. R. 17.

⁸³ Hill, *passim*, and especially Chaps. XI and XVIII.

⁸⁴ I T. 247; cf. R. R. 14, 77.

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⁸⁵ N. & H. 303; cf. I T. 247; and L. E. Chittenden's "Personal Reminiscences," 366.

⁸⁶ Albert Bushnell Hart's *Life of Salmon P. Chase in American Statesmen*, 308; O. 239, 242, 320, 350 and 364; "the intolerable weight of responsibility which the war threw upon the shoulders of the President," says a writer in the *London Spectator* of April 25, 1891.

⁸⁷ W. 196; R. R. 55, 61, 69.

⁸⁸ "The Early Years of Abraham Lincoln" in "Lectures and Essays." Cf. R. R. 286.

⁸⁹ Isaac Arnold in his *Life of Lincoln* says (453), "Here (i.e. in his room in the White House) day after day, often from early morning to late at night, Lincoln sat, listened, talked and decided. He was patient, just, considerate and hopeful. *The people came to him as to a father.* He saw everyone, and many wasted his precious time."

⁹⁰ R. R. 236, 338; Oberholtzer in his *Life of Abraham Lincoln* on page 324 speaks of Lincoln's "fatherly way to visitors;" cf. R. R. 195, 507; sometimes he would address a man as "my son," A. L. T. 2; II T. 188; and a woman as "my child," R. R. 360. Sir W. H. Russell noted in describing Lincoln's face "the combination of kindliness and bonhomie in it," see "My Diary North and South" under date of March, 1860. Mr. J. R. Gilmore in his "Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War" speaks of Lincoln's eye being "the deepest, saddest and yet kindest eye I have ever seen."

⁹¹ *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1900; cf. A. 453.

⁹² "Abraham Lincoln—Tributes from his Asso-

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ciates—Reminiscences of Soldiers, Statesmen, and Citizens," published by T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1895.

⁹³ In "Recollections of the Civil War," 173, 184, and cf. 174.

⁹⁴ To the same in effect Sir W. H. Russell noted the combination of kindliness and bonhomie in Lincoln's face, see "My Diary North and South" under date of March, 1860.

⁹⁵ Cf. R. R. 41, 100; cf. B. 327, 328.

⁹⁶ B. 327, 347.

⁹⁷ Gorham's Life of Stanton, I, 346; cf. Walt Whitman's "Wound Dresser" 90; B. 289, 299, 328, 336.

⁹⁸ II T. 176; for another illustration, see R. R. 53, 54; cf. also Lincoln's "cheerful and cordial" manner to the representatives of the Confederacy at the Hampton Roads Conference, as observed by Alexander H. Stephens, see The War between the States, II, 599 et seq., 613, 614, 618.

⁹⁹ Welles quoting from his own Diary in his "Lincoln and Seward," 194-196; cf. R. 280.

¹⁰⁰ In Lincoln and Men of War Times, 187; cf. O. 234; R. 392.

¹⁰¹ R. 280, and in North American Review clxiii, 672-675.

¹⁰² See note 93.

¹⁰³ A. 416, 417.

¹⁰⁴ Cf., "When the wicked man turneth away from wickedness he hath committed and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive."

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in B. 344.

¹⁰⁶ Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, II, 423.

¹⁰⁷ A. L. T. 130.

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¹⁰⁸ Cf. B. 318.

¹⁰⁹ A. L. T. 91.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in II T. 185.

¹¹¹ II T. 155, 161; in the Second Inaugural Address they are called "insurgents." Cf. Alexander H. Stephens' "The War Between the States," II, 599 et seq., 613, 614, and 618.

¹¹² Pearson's Life of Governor Andrew, II, 17.

The strain of the war produced great irritability in many men. The most conspicuous offenders were E. M. Stanton and Horace Greeley. Yet although a victim at times of both these men's intense disagreeableness Lincoln was invariably kindly to both. As regards Stanton, see R. Chap. VI, entitled, "The Curbing of Stanton." As regards Greeley, see Lincoln's famous letter to him in answer to his most offensive one, in "Abraham Lincoln—Complete Works," published by The Century Co., Vol. Two, 227. In spite of the petulant, unjust, unkind and insulting letter of Greeley, this letter is very kind in tone. Unless Lincoln had a real liking for Greeley it is almost inconceivable that he could have written as he did. Dislike and resentment would have shown themselves. And, as a very intelligent man says, "Any man who could *like* Horace Greeley needs no other justification as a brother-man."

¹¹³ L. M. A. 501, 502.

¹¹⁴ A. L. T. 39.

¹¹⁵ A. L. T. 2.

¹¹⁶ Noah Brooks' "Washington in Lincoln's Time," 52, 53.

¹¹⁷ See note 120.

¹¹⁸ A. L. T. 229.

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¹¹⁹ A. L. T. 166; cf. R. R. 195.

¹²⁰ For further comments on and illustrations of this "fatherly note," see II T. 188; R. 392; O. 234, 235, 244, 251; A. 453; Robert G. Ingersoll's "Lincoln," *passim*; Charles G. Leland's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 244; and references cited in note 90 above.

¹²¹ Cf. R. R. 112, 113.

¹²² Cf. a mushy poem entitled "Father Abraham" in "Collier's Weekly," for February 15, 1908.

¹²³ "Abraham Lincoln—Complete Works," published by The Century Co., Vol. One, 57, 59, 62.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 59, where Lincoln says, "When all such of us as have now reached the years of maturity first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence, we found intoxicating liquor recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. . . . Universal public opinion not only tolerated but recognized and adopted its use." To the same effect are all contemporary observers.

¹²⁵ Cf. a most remarkable passage at the end of Mr. John T. Morse Jr.'s *Life of Abraham Lincoln* in "American Statesmen," in Vol. II on pages 355, 356, 357, which as a whole and in many particulars I believe to be untrue and extremely misleading. In any event no such words have ever before been written by an experienced and sober biographer of a person of admittedly human origin.

¹²⁶ There was a great deal in Lincoln's life that was common to many Americans born in the Middle West during the early part of the last century, for instance, existence in a log cabin far from

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civilization. In these respects he was not peculiar, although the constant dwelling on them by his biographers tend to make him seem so. So there was much else in his life common to many men, which his biographers tend to make unduly peculiar to himself, for instance, his first love affair.

¹²⁷ B. 343; cf. the words of a writer in the London Nation, "The greatness of Lincoln was that of a common man raised to a high dimension," quoted by George Haven Putnam in his book entitled "Abraham Lincoln" on page 198, and also cf. Robert G. Ingersoll's words, "Lincoln was an *immense* personality" in R. R. on page 312.

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